/66 cont./

600 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
8C mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemão and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porêhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
● [276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
8C on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire 765 with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, 787 and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, dur- 276 ing which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey [782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think [774] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of [775] the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased [123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

/71 cont./

765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
• 276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[775] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[266] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

76 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

Surára
Pakidái

726 /74 cont./
[191]
[302]

343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the
● [276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all
[729] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by
727 the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days
727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hório and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men
[226] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá
[782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

/87 cont./

231 In the evening the monkeys climb the tallest trees in order to spend the night in their crowns, and the birds, too, occasionally fly away. But all the animals come back, for, of course, they were tamed when small and are very attached to the Indians, who /88/ always treat them affectionately. They take the trouble, with great patience, to train the parrots and parakeets to talk, and they are happy when the first results appear.

11. Luxuries

• 276

The Surára and Pakidái use only two luxuries, tobacco -- peenáke -- and a snuff powder -- epená. The former serves for profane purposes and the latter exclusively for ritual use.

Tobacco is not smoked, however. The leaves are pulverized in the green state, mixed with wood ashes and water or saliva, and twisted between the hands into small rolls. These are then inserted between the lower or upper lip and the teeth, where they are sucked. Both sexes, including children, indulge in this enjoyment, which also is connected with a very practical purpose, for, as a result, the Indians are able to walk around all day in the forest without feeling hungry or thirsty; but their attractive faces are quite distorted by the tobacco roll (Ill. 41).

[184] Tobacco is used in the same way among the Waiká, but
[824] here, according to Zerries' account, the roll is inserted only between the lower lip and the teeth (426) (427). The investigator

426. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

427. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

named also mentions the occasional use of wild plants as substitutes in case tobacco is lacking (428) (429). Among the Surára

428. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

429. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

276 171 114 ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroíma probably also did the same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 276 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

/88 cont./

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• 276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurâ -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahâ -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waikâ, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waikâ call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

/89 cont./

276
122

437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

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[463]
[415]

Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tõra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriâna. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

123
276

After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surára, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

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[184]

/89 cont./

Among the Waiká, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western

438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[415]

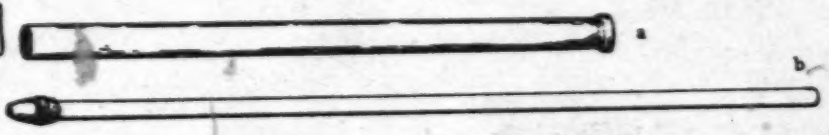

Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a com-
[114] parative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/92 cont./

and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waikâ /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

/100 cont./
755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
177 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken
pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[159] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

/103 cont./

769 25 [462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [276] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as [533] all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534] 509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[276] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

Surára
pakidái

/104 cont./

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Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára [622] chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá [622] and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival [782] would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men [276] blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769
266 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other
[533] male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

[123]

514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the de-
769 ceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.
[533] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.
[782] Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities
/107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes,
[262] and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part
[302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their
769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of
276 the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

Surára
Pakidái

/107 cont./

769
276 snuff-tubes. After these preparations, the chiefs, all the men, youths, and boys, light and black-colored participants, assembled outside the maloka. At a hissing sound from Hewemão they then stormed into the courtyard, screaming loudly, ran once around the periphery, and then grouped themselves around the clay plate. The snuff-tubes were filled with powder, and the men by twos blew it with all their might into each other's noses (Ill. 44). On the occasion of this festival they take even more snuff than before other magic performances, curing the sick, and prayers. The effect was extraordinary. After only a few moments all the men were in a wild state of ecstasy (Ills. 45 and 46). At first they danced and leaped, gesticulating and screaming, in wild disorder around the clay plate, and after that they stormed around the courtyard several times in the [535] same manner. Then groups of five, ten, or more men put their arms around each other's necks and performed stamping circle-dances in this formation (Ill. 47), during which each man tried to pull another one tightly to him; now and then they also
769
526 danced with the knees bent. After half an hour, this ecstatic dancing, during which the participants were bathed in sweat, was replaced by an extremely strange type of sport -- petapóanhamũ. In the entire outer circle of the maloka courtyard there were seated everywhere two men opposite each other, chest to chest, with legs spread apart; in each case one had his on top of the thighs of the other one. The partners were always a Surára and a Pakidái; moreover, in each case one of them was blackened. They wound their arms around each other at the neck and, with vigorous arm movements, pulled each other back and forth with all their might (Ill. 48). Each tried to pull the head of his opponent quite close to him. Sometimes their arms would drop down on the back of the other one, and they would then pull at each other for a while in this position. During the struggle they constantly called out wrathful words at each other. Often the wives stood beside their husbands and spurred them on. But there were no victors and no losers in these combats. If the strength of a combatant flagged, another tribesman immediately came and continued the struggle with the opponent

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexf (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
184

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

Surára
Pakidái
waicá

/108 cont./ According to Zerries, Barker, and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waikâ, in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom, also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, outside influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

It is further noteworthy that among the Waikâ women and girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very significant similar trait. It is documented for the Waikâ by Cruxent (523a)

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
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Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

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415
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Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

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Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2. Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1969 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

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969
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Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

969
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Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/15/

769
276
142
291
302

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

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769
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Ill. 48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

● 276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals: he was the guapo.

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. N-An.]

/221 cont./

765 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula
775 and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĩkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĩkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around
•[276] the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their
[756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĩ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá
771 is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of
[184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious
756 practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a
791 different supernatural sphere.

793 The first of the three is the hɛwĩawán, or the priest, who is
776 the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/225 cont./ The Sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
796 propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/227 cont./

773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanídmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablí, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablí went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanídmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablí then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablí had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanídmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanídmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanídmawan which is called hídkula,

774 [764] The hídkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hídkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hídkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hídkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hídkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopo, sing about their gigantic hídkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwíawan, has no hídkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

[193]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pihni* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uagna river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a cosseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
296

10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

11 & 12. *Waremá's brothers-in-law.*

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[301]
→

[P.96-B]

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

Agriculture

241 Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 824 [302] [789] [302] [276] Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/448/

527 After this comes the daytime ceremony. A great deal of
• 276 "yopo" is prepared and placed near the center of the group of huts. Some six or eight boys of the "host" settlement march around the patio and then toward the place where the "yopo" is. Another group of boys follows them rapidly. As each group arrives at the center, the boys receive a puff of "yopo" in the nose. After each and every one of the boys has taken the "yopo" through the nasal passage, the men follow them in the same way, in groups of six or eight. And when all of the "hosts" are in the center, the ones representing the "guest" or visiting settlement, follow them in the same "yopo" ceremony.

527 When each and every one has received his portion of "yopo," the group of men begins to march around in the center of the
526 circular patio of the settlement. After a few minutes have
276 passed, the men begin to separate off in pairs. The most violent of them begin having duels of blows on the chest. Others, seated by pairs on the ground, talk among themselves in the manner of the crooned messages.

The duels of blows on the chest receive the greatest attention. All those who are not paired off are watching. Also many of the women come to watch them. The group of onlookers approaches so close that only a part of them can manage to see what is actually happening.

527 Some of the men who have taken too much "yopo" lie im-
276 potently on their backs and are dragged out of the sun into the shade of the houses by the women.

And others who have taken a certain excess of "yopo" keep walking around, and their wives have great difficulty in keeping them inside the settlement. If they manage to get into the woods with no one watching over them, they may find themselves in grave danger.

[574] After a while, everything begins to quiet down. Meat and
[484] as much "pijiguao" as it is possible to carry are given to the guests for their return trip. Thus they may take as long as a week on the trip to their settlement without running out of provisions.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in
[866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, al-
765 though they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some
[252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug
[415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/453 cont./

276 Several varieties of "yupo," of different degrees of strength, are prepared with leaves, bark, and ashes of bark. In the form of powder, it is blown by another into the nose of the one using it. The helper is the one who blows it, but the one using it fills the little tube and consequently is the one responsible with regard to the amount taken.

The "yopo" is connected with their religion and must be taken in order to carry out most of the sorcery, magic, or spells. Nevertheless, some become so addicted to the drug that they take it in great quantities and remain under its influence from midday until evening almost every day.

"Yopo" greatly enlarges the pupil, to the point of almost covering the entire iris of the eye.

The intoxication which it produces is similar to that caused by alcohol, but the effect passes sooner. An excessive dose may leave a person flat on his back, foaming at the mouth, and without strength enough to get up or to resist anything which might be done to him.

291

Clothing

The item of clothing which is fundamental for both men and women is a cord tied around the waist. Men are not considered decently dressed if they do not have the penis held up by the foreskin by the aforementioned cord.

[177] There is a desire to obtain trousers and shirts for protection against insects.

302

Ornaments

The predominant style of cutting the hair is that of shaving the upper part of the cranium, leaving a border of hair about five centimeters wide around it. The lower edge of /454/ this border of hair should come exactly to the upper edge of the ears and a short space above the eyebrows. The straighter and more abrupt the lines of the hair, the better is the haircut. Sometimes they let the hair grow over the whole head. Sometimes, in order to rid themselves of lice, they shave the entire head. The whole head may be shaved for other reasons as well.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 514 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the
[276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves
[721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against
[176] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may
[533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when
[203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be
[574] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guaharibos have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waïka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waïkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waïkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

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ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomaboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

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anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

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he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1–5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

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"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yąnomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

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Fig. 2-2. Women fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

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276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [787] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *hisioma*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

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[172] [8]They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

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Fig. 2-3. Men blowing ebene, *a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.*

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SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąobawä's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

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Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

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The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

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Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

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SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

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men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharariwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

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supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

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drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

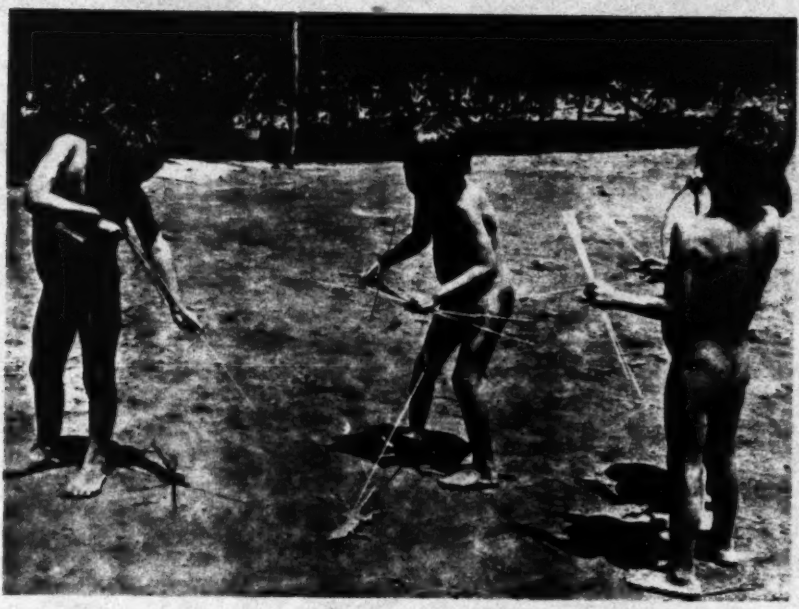

Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

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duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kąobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3–9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3–9. Kąobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

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Fig. 5-3. One of Kaobawä's Shamatari allies, painted black, views the warriors lining up through his bowstring. He waits his turn to join them, a wad of tobacco protruding from his mouth.

at some point between their own village and the enemy's. These smaller groups must 726
contain at least four men, six, if possible. This is so because the raiders retreat in a pattern. While the others flee, two men will lie in ambush, shooting any pursuers that might follow. They, in turn, flee, while their comrades lie in ambush to shoot at their pursuers.

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Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman*

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located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

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Everyone in the village gathered around the ashes and wept aloud. The bamboo quiver of the dead man was brought to the gourds, smashed, the points taken out, and the quiver itself burned. While this was going on, the mourners were in a state of frenzy, pulling at their hair and striking themselves, screaming and wailing. One of his brothers took a snuff tube and blew some of the drug into the gourds containing the ashes (see Fig. 5–4). The tube was then cut in half, one of the dead man's arrow points being used to measure the point at which the snuff tube was cut. I was never able to determine whether the arrow points taken from the quiver were possessions of the dead man or were, in fact, the points removed from his body. There were ten of them, and my informants were too touchy about the matter to be questioned in detail: I received affirmative nods to both questions. In any event, the ten bamboo points were distributed to the raiders, who fondled them and examined them carefully. Each man brought one with him on the raid that followed this ceremony. The severed snuff tube and the gourds of ashes were wrapped in leaves and put back in the thatch of the brother's house.

That night I think I became emotionally close to the Yąnomamö for the first time. I remained in my hammock and gave up collecting genealogies. As darkness fell Damowĩ's brothers began weeping in their hammocks. I lay there and listened, not bothering to tape record it or photograph it or write notes. One of the others asked me why I was not making a nuisance of myself as usual, and I told him that my innermost being (*bubii*) was cold—that is, I was sad. This was whispered around the village, and as each person heard it, he looked over at me. The children who inevitably accumulate around my hammock were told by their elders to go home and not bother me anymore. I was *bushuo*, in a state of emotional disequilibrium, and had finally begun to act like a human being as far as they were concerned.

The next day the raiders lined up, shouted in the direction of the Patanowĩ-teri, heard the echo come back, and left the village to collect their provisions and hammocks. I allowed them to talk me into taking the entire raiding party up the Mavaca River in my canoe. There, they could find high ground and reach the Patanowĩ-teri without having to cross the numerous swamps that lay between the two villages. There were only ten men in the raiding party, the smallest the war party can get and still have maximum effectiveness. As we traveled up the river, the younger men began complaining. One had sore feet, and two or three others claimed to have malaria. They wanted to turn back because I had forgotten to bring my malaria pills with me as I had promised. Hukoshikuwĩ (Fig. 5–5), a brother of the slain headman, silenced their complaints with an angry lecture on cowardice. I let them all out at the mouth of a stream they intended to follow. They unloaded their seemingly enormous supply of plantains and politely waited for me to leave. I sat among them and chatted, thinking that they were doing essential tasks as they fiddled with arrows and retied their provisions. Finally, one of them hinted that I should be leaving because I had a long trip and might not get home before dark. It was then that I discovered they were dallying, trying to be polite to me. They all thanked me for taking them upstream in my canoe, the only time Yąnomamö ever expressed gratitude to me, and I got in my canoe to leave. Hukoshikuwĩ came down to untie my rope for me and shove me off the bank. He watched, silently, as my canoe got caught up in the current and drifted away. He looked frightened, reluctant, anxious, but determined. After I had gotten my motor started and was under way, I looked back to see him turn, pick up his plantains and weapons, and disappear into the jungle. Even

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]